

BOOK REVIEWS

Erotic Innocence: The Culture of Child Molesting. By James R. Kincaid.
Duke University Press, Durham, NC, 1998, 352 pp., \$24.95 (hardback),
\$16.95 (paperback).

*Reviewed by Donald J. West, M.D.*¹

This substantial work, with 500 annotations and references and authored by a professor of English, is indisputably academic, but its literary style is not that of traditional sexologic writings, with operationally defined hypotheses confirmed by experimental or survey evidence. Instead, one is presented with intriguing aphorisms, metaphoric argumentation, and challenging assertions that cast doubt on common assumptions, but fall short of simple, scientifically testable propositions.

Kincaid is convinced that modern American (and for that matter, all Western) society has gone over the top in its concern about child sexual abuse, its exaggerated estimates of prevalence, and its demonization of the multitude of monsters believed to threaten the sexual innocence of children. He bemoans the contrast between this preoccupation and society's avoidance of the larger problems of child hunger, child neglect, child poverty, child labor, child suicide, and children killed by their caregivers: "We fix our eyes on sexual abuse, a comparatively minor problem, because it pleases us to talk about it. Meanwhile, about 2,000 children a year die in America from physical abuse and neglect, and 160,000 are seriously injured" (p. 160).

That concern about sexual abuse of children has spawned a moral panic and led to some irrational and damaging overreactions is a familiar argument. It is supported here with numerous examples. In Chapter 1, an account of a young married woman drama teacher, prosecuted for an alleged affair with a 17-year-old student, is used to show how an ambiguous situation gets twisted to fit the stereotypical story of juvenile victim and wicked predator. The male complainant (who lies and is manipulative, according to his mother when she is seeking therapy for him) could have been a rejected young sex pest out for revenge, but the prosecution

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preferred to view the teacher as having “preyed on an impressionable young student in order to satisfy her need for affection.” The allegations were implausible and unsubstantiated and she was acquitted, but, according to press reports, intercourse was likely to have occurred and the paternity of her pregnancy was open to question. In fact, she had not been prosecuted for intercourse because the young man was above the then age of consent (which was raised later), but for the more salacious-sounding charge of oral copulation with a minor. Despite an acquittal, her teaching credentials were not renewed and, years later, she was still facing a civil suit for damages on behalf of her supposed victim.

More notorious examples are cited in later chapters. In the McMartin case, which began with allegations from a paranoid schizophrenic mother, members of the family running a preschool facility were accused of bizarre forms of sexual abuse against children in their care. The process carried on for 7 years with increasingly fantastic assertions dragged out of children in the course of bullying interrogations. The prosecutions finally petered out in mistrials and acquittals, having meantime brought ruin to the suspects and misery to the children and their families. The Menendez trial of two brothers who murdered both parents in an attempt to secure the family fortune is cited because the defendants used (to great effect, although ultimately unsuccessfully), a plea that they had been sexually abused by their father as children. It seems that in the eyes of many people, the crime of sexual abuse is uniquely heinous and justifies murdering the perpetrators.

Belief in satanic sexual abuse involving the massacre of babies has largely evaporated, extensive police inquiries having discovered no remains. For such claims to have been taken seriously, people must have been convinced that children’s allegations, however implausible, must be true and that memories implanted by hypnotic suggestion are accurate reproductions. In the Franklin case, a father was kept in prison for 6 years under sentence for murder on the basis of his daughter’s hypnotically “recovered memory” of an otherwise unsubstantiated incident, 20 years earlier, when she supposedly witnessed him kill her 8-year-old friend (see Ofshe and Watters, 1994). Panic about children’s sexual vulnerability is reflected in exaggerated ideas about the number of sex-related abductions of children—some of them by aliens!

Kincaid finds hypocritical and dangerous the idealized picture that has developed of a totally honest, sexually innocent, and morally pure childhood: “The child’s complete and uncomplicated veracity is accorded a respect almost absurd to anyone who has ever spent more than a few seconds with an actual child” (p. 211). The assumption of innocence is ill-fitting with the thinly disguised sexual antics of the child heroines of popular films and books. The adorable qualities of Alice in Wonderland and Peter Pan are, by convention, divorced from suggestions of overt erotic interest. Graham Greene was successfully sued for his frank comments, in a review of a Shirley Temple film, about the child star’s “sidelong searching coquetry,” her “well-shaped desirable little body,” and the “mature suggestiveness of

a Dietrich" (p. 114). Kincaid finds boy stars equally titillating, with their frequent underwear masquerades, butt exposures, and pedophilic innuendoes. In the popular film theme in which "the lovely and lonely child bonds with a misfit adult" (p. 129), suggestively pedophilic relationships are sanitized by endings that see the adult somehow eliminated at the end. For example, in Clint Eastwood's 1993 film, *A Perfect World*, the boy Buzz is rescued from an unsympathetic home through kidnapping by a convict who assumes a buddy role and saves Buzz from the crude sexual molestations of another con. This legitimizes some near-overt sexual interplay in which he inspects Buzz's penis to assure him it is developing adequately. In a "preposterous" contrived ending, Buzz shoots his buddy, thereby freeing the story from a too-obvious pedophilic taint.

According to Kincaid, images of the adorable child coexist with contrasting images of thankless, rebellious children, ever-worsening youthful delinquency, murderous children, and numerous young sex predators. Resentment burgeons when children reach the awkward age of later teens and cease to be cute. This he sees reflected in the shabby treatment often received by child movie stars once they pass through puberty.

Kincaid has explanations for all this, but one is hard put to find where he sets them out with precision. He comes nearest to it in the Introduction. Given the exploitation of cute (i.e., sexually provocative) children in movies and advertisements, awareness of their erotic potential is unavoidable: "I believe most adults in our culture feel some measure of erotic attraction to children and the childlike; I do not know how it could be otherwise" (p. 25). Denial that parental love is tinged with erotic feelings leads to insistence that any manifestation of the kind is an abomination perpetrated only by unspeakably vile and irredeemable pedophiles. There is no real need for such panic: "I suggest that just about all of us, looking at what is what in the face, will not find ourselves compelled to have sex with children" (p. 25). Factual evidence fails to support the myths that children are constantly exposed to risk of assault by ubiquitous sexual predators or that this is the origin of so many of the mental problems of adult life.

The argument makes full use of what is dubbed the *backlash literature* (Gardner, 1992; Yapko, 1994), which highlights the absurdity of claims that serious sex abuse is a near universal childhood experience and warns of the danger to children (Berrick, 1991) of "a package of terror and mendacity [that] acts as an education in anxiety, confusion and distrust, and exactly the wrong kind of empowerment" (i.e., empowerment to blackmail). Yet Kincaid disapproves of the tendency of most backlash writers to bow to conventional views by conceding that, despite exaggerations, child sex abuse is still a common phenomenon and a serious social problem. Seemingly, he would prefer to view adult-child interactions as infinitely varied and only occasionally problematic, although nowhere is this expressed baldly.

The difficulty of obtaining objective evidence for Kincaid's particular interpretations is acknowledged; for example, where he remarks that, "it is time to talk

about the talking” but that “It should be clear, though, that there is no position inside the present discussions of children, sexuality and power that will allow me to assess with easy objectivity what those discussions are doing” (p. 7). He cites no plethysmographic surveys to show that various degrees of sexual arousal to children of different ages are widely distributed throughout the population. Whether, as clinical evidence suggests, pedophilia exists as a relatively discrete entity limited to a small minority or as a continuum in some degree affecting most adults is as yet an open question on which research is badly needed. By viewing attachment to children as a range of erotically tinged attitudes and emotions and cultural expectations that are not necessarily threatening, Kincaid avoids considering simplistic measures of sexual arousal patterns.

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Suggestions of Abuse. By Michael D. Yapko. Simon & Schuster, NY, 1994, 271 pp., \$22.00.

*Reviewed by David C. Prichard, Ph.D.*²

In the preface, Yapko begins with a compelling story of a man who, for 20 years, claimed to have been a POW in Vietnam. His wife was unwavering in her belief in the validity of her husband's war experiences, but on his death discovers that the story was invented and that the diagnosis of posttraumatic stress disorder for which he received treatment was fictional. Yapko parallels this scenario to a hypothetical one in which a woman, with assistance from her therapist, apparently recalls repressed memories of sexual abuse. A powerful beginning to an equally powerful and controversial debate on memory, repression, sexual abuse, and false memories.

Yapko's book is concerned primarily with “those cases in which allegations of abuse are made on the basis of memories that were recovered through suggestions of a therapist” (p. x). He attempts to achieve this goal by presenting the findings of a memory attitude and a hypnosis attitude survey administered to therapists,

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and through the use of anecdotes, case studies, and client narratives. Along the way, Yapko presents a sketch of both sides of a very difficult issue. On the one hand, research indicates that as many as two-thirds of all women have experienced sexual abuse in childhood (Kilpatrick *et al.*, 1992), and there is a convincing literature in support of the validity of repressed memories of childhood sexual abuse recovered in adulthood (Dolan, 1989; Sgroi, 1989). On the other hand, there is equally convincing evidence that memories recalled under hypnosis or otherwise are not always reliable (Coons, 1988; Spanos *et al.*, 1991).

Although Yapko is careful to state at the outset his desire to present an objective, balanced view of both sides of the debate, there is a sense that Yapko focuses more on the data in support of false memory (Terr, 1988) than that supporting the validity of repressed memories of childhood sexual abuse recovered during therapy (Briere and Conte, 1993; Herman and Schatzow, 1987; Sgroi, 1989; Usser and Neissman, 1993). He appears to use extreme examples of documented cases of false memories in situations not related to the recovery of memories of childhood sexual abuse, and then generalizes these to make his case. In addition to the Vietnam example, he speaks of the research on past lives and abduction by space aliens, and uses these, in part, to build his case for the possibility of false memories among childhood sexual abuse survivors. Certainly, these cases tell us something about the nature of memory and the ability of individuals to believe falsehoods, but it seems inappropriate and insensitive to place sexual abuse of children, a well-documented occurrence in many cultures, in the same category as abduction by space aliens and past-life regression, the validity of which speaks for itself. Despite his protestations to the contrary, this trivializes and reduces childhood sexual abuse to the fantastic. Certainly there is less sensational research he might have drawn from to make the same point.

Since the publication of Yapko's book, there is research emerging that supports the veracity of repressed memories and lends credence to the possibility of these memories being recovered during therapy (Gold *et al.*, 1995; Williams, 1995). Williams (1995) presents convincing corroborated evidence on recovered memories of childhood sexual abuse. Her findings, verified from hospital records, suggest clearly that many women recalling sexual abuse in childhood had periods in the past when they did not remember what had happened to them. It is interesting to note that among the 129 women interviewed, 80 (62%) recalled the victimization and 16% reported that at some time in the past they had forgotten the abuse. The findings are clear, irrefutable, and corroborated that some women sexually abused as children appear to repress explicit recall of these memories, only to recover them in adulthood (see also Conway, 1999; Pezdek and Banks, 1996; Williams and Banyard, 1999).

The strength of the book lies in Yapko's attempt to collect information from therapists as to their view of the extent of the problem. He presents the results of the Memory Attitude Questionnaire and the Hypnosis Attitude Questionnaire, which

he developed and administered to 860 therapists nationwide, mostly those attending national and international psychotherapy conferences. To his credit, Yapko does not suggest that the findings of his study are generalizable to the greater population of therapists. Nor does he suggest that his study used a random sampling of therapists. It would have been helpful to the professional reader if Yapko had discussed in greater detail the theoretical bases on which the instruments were developed, and what efforts were expended to assess their reliability and validity. It was disappointing that this information was not adequately presented, and this omission reinforces the perception that Yapko has written a book that is aimed largely at potential clients, and not for the very therapists on which the study was conducted.

Yapko's writing style does appear to accommodate the lay reader, but it does so at the expense of providing helpful information to the mental health professional. He relies heavily on qualitative data, which does make for a very readable book, but fails to develop fully and with scientific rigor the core issue of the wisdom of therapists relying on repressed memories of childhood sexual abuse recovered during therapy. Although Yapko has produced an interesting read, he contributes little to the professional literature on repression and the false memory debate.

What Yapko has produced is a very worthwhile book for potential and current clients seeking to understand more fully, and in layperson's terms, the essence of the two sides of the debate. The material within each chapter consists largely of anecdote, case study, and short narrative. He provides the reader with key points at the conclusion of each chapter. Yapko's suggestion that therapists must be cautious of recovered memories of sexual abuse is valid. What he does not emphasize with nearly enough vigor is the need for clients to take their trauma reactions seriously and not deny their reactions to or the validity of early trauma. In his attempt to provide a cautionary note to potential clients seeking treatment, Yapko misses an opportunity to provide the reader with a truly balanced view of both sides of a most controversial issue. And despite protestations to the contrary, he does appear to do so at the expense of providing validation to readers that are true survivors of early childhood sexual abuse.

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Satanic Panic: The Creation of a Contemporary Legend. By Jeffrey S. Victor. Open Court Press, Chicago, 1993, 408 pp., \$38.95 (hardback), \$16.95 (paperback).

*Reviewed by Paul Okami, Ph.D.*³

Satanic Panic is another in a series of recent attempts to debunk bizarre contemporary belief systems of pervasive danger, urban legends, and moral panics that flourish in spite of a lack of empirical evidence supporting the various claims made about them. Among this new “ghostbusting” genre would be Best (1990), Richardson *et al.* (1991), Loftus and Ketcham (1994), Ofshe and Watters (1994), Nathan and Snedeker (1995), and Pendergrast (1995). Some of these books, like *Satanic Panic*, are written by social scientists. Others, like Nathan and Snedeker’s (1995) excellent *Satan’s Silence*, are essentially journalistic works.

In one sense, *Satanic Panic* is only of limited interest to professionals in human sexuality fields. Victor’s account of the rise of contemporary belief in organized, devil-worshipping “satanic cults”—which supposedly perpetrate the most heinous and disgusting crimes with impunity—does not focus in particular on putative crimes of a sexual nature (“ritual abuse” or “recovered memories”). Although topics of sexual abuse are considered, their coverage actually comprises a relatively small portion of the book. Since the publication of this book, important developments have occurred: many convictions have been overturned, jailed defendants released, therapists sued, and new charges brought as well. Overall,

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Satanic Panic is concerned more generally with the modern history and nature of moral panics and urban legends surrounding satanism, and the implications these phenomena hold for American society. *Satanic Panic* thus differs from (but nicely complements) Nathan and Snedeker's (1995) book, which is somewhat more up-to-date and specifically focuses on claims made about "ritual" sexual abuse (see Okami, 1996).

Nonetheless, *Satanic Panic* is an important work. One hesitates to use hyperbole, but regardless of whether one's primary interest is in human sexuality issues, this simply is a book that ought to be read. Although there are some weaknesses from a behavioral science perspective (which I discuss later) and Victor could have used a good editor to help remove annoying redundancy and assist in organization, as a historical and journalistic work, the book fills an important void. Victor was able to collect data during the height of a "satanic panic" in his own backyard in Jamestown, New York, and thus trace the origin of rumors and events precipitating the panic and working these data into a more general picture of a process that has been operating over the past two decades in communities across the United States. Victor, who teaches sociology at a community college in Jamestown, is also very well versed in the history of fears about satanic cults and devil-worshipping, and is widely read in the social science literature concerning urban legends and moral panics. Therefore, because "the stakes are high" (as Victor states on more than one occasion), I found myself deeply engrossed in this book and finished its 400 pages in two sittings.

Because there is no evidence supporting the existence of satanic cults, ritual abuse, and so on, Victor's book focuses instead on those making claims about satanic abuse, the process of making claims, and its consequences. In this respect, *Satanic Panic* to some extent follows the model of social problems analysis advocated by Spector and Kituse (1977) and Best (1990). However, because Victor is flatly denying the validity of claims about satanic abuse, his book cannot be considered a true "social constructionist" account, where one remains "on the side" rather than "on a side" so as to more objectively view the activities of various actors in the social problems drama.

Put very simply, Victor's central hypothesis is that the rise of belief in satanic cults cannot be ascribed to "collective hysteria" or to the personalities, or even the self-interest of those involved (although self-interest may figure at a later date in the proliferation of media agents, therapists, law enforcement officials, and talk show "survivors" who profit from the panic). Instead, according to Victor, belief in satanic cults is, in a narrow sense, a "rational" response of generally decent but vulnerable people to powerful symbolic messages received as rumor and urban legend. That is, believers in satanic cults behave much as the average person would behave if he or she believed the rumors to have factual basis. "Collective hysteria," "emotional contagion," and other mental-illness derived terms obscure this important truth.

Victor identifies a number of stressors—primarily economic slumps and rapid changes in sex roles and family life—that have disproportionately affected working-class Americans. It is this demographic group, which in rural areas consists of large numbers of fundamentalist Christians, that has, according to Victor, constituted the spine and the conduit of belief in the threat of satanism. Why satanism? Victor explains this in a number of ways. First, he points to the disappearance of faith in traditional morality during the 20th century and to the themes of devils and devil worship that characteristically run through American Christian heritage. Fears about the end of morality and belief in the devil and devil worship promote the idea that we are under attack from within. This notion has been expressed in previous decades in moral panics centered around other demonic foes, such as Jews and Communists. Because of the loss of relevance of these scapegoats through assimilation of Jews and the end of the Cold War, satanism—which nicely blends the theme of moral evil with the notion of attack from within—is a perfect scapegoat.

Although Victor marshals some support for his explanation of the prevalence of beliefs in satanist conspiracies among fundamentalist Christians and their fellow travellers, he is not very convincing in his attempts to explain the diffusion of these beliefs into the professional community. Indeed, he seems somewhat perplexed about the strange alliance between mental health professionals (often spouting ersatz feminist rhetoric) and bible-thumping moral entrepreneurs.

The book is divided into 15 chapters, the first 5 of which set the stage by describing “strange happenings” in the United States over the past two decades and the rise of the satanic cult legend. The nature of rumors and rumor-panics are explored. The next few chapters discuss specific manifestations of the satanic cult legend, tackling “ritual abuse” and “missing children,” “teenage satanism,” and the black comedic search for satanism in popular music, schoolbooks, and children’s games such as *Dungeons and Dragons*. Most of the material related to sexual abuse and missing children is covered in greater depth by Best (1990) and Nathan and Snedecker (1995), respectively, but the material on teenagers, popular music, and children’s games is new and excellent.

Chapters 9–13 attempt to explain all of the foregoing by drawing from many currents of social scientific thought. The medieval origins of the demonology of witchcraft and satanism are recounted, emphasizing the consensus among historians that in actual fact, no cult of devil worship or witchery has ever existed in the Western world, excepting in the imaginations of anxious and vulnerable individuals. Finally, Victor attempts to draw all of the previous material together in a general view of the manner in which imaginary deviance may be created.

As I said at the outset, this material is mesmerizing. However, the book has some serious flaws as a scientific work. Victor states in Chapter 1 that he has “deliberately avoided using unnecessary technical jargon and burdening the reader with the names of researchers and theories. Extensive notes are provided for

interested readers" (p. 5). In fact, the reader is virtually deluged with theories—or, perhaps, more accurately, hypotheses—to explain the proliferation of belief among Americans (including many social scientists) in events that range from the thoroughly unlikely to the utterly impossible. Victor's hypotheses, many of which are quite plausible, are nonetheless not derived in a coherent manner from clearly articulated theory. Whereas he might argue that the problem is multidetermined and thus one must use an interdisciplinary approach to explanation, *Satanic Panic* is really a patchwork quilt of behavioral science. Victor plucks theories from here, there, and everywhere, attempting to make sense of the senseless. Some of this scavenging is disappointingly superficial, and the empirical data cited to support several key points are feeble and largely correlational in nature.

Among the theoretical strands Victor attempts to tie together are: social construction of social problems theory; "framing," referent cognition, and relative deprivation theories from the social cognition literature; labeling theory; interactionist theory, and other sociology of deviance perspectives; Jungian psychoanalytic theory; anthropologic symbolic interactionism; folklore theory; Marxist sociology and conflict theory; and perhaps a few more.

Whereas this makes for an entertaining and sometimes enlightening ride, it ultimately is not satisfying and one is still left to a certain degree mystified at how otherwise intelligent people can believe such a high order of nonsense. What this book needs is a dose of coherent theory. One such theory would be mimetics (*cf.* Lynch, 1996), the application of principles of evolutionary biology to the study of the proliferation and evolution of thoughts, beliefs, and ideas. Mimetics looks at how ideas (memes) acquire people, rather than the more traditional sociology or social psychology of how people acquire ideas. This kind of analysis could probably account in a more parsimonious manner for many of the phenomena to which Victor is compelled to apply so many diverse kinds of explanations. For example, Lynch recently used mimetics to explain the otherwise puzzling momentous growth of the Mormon religion, and this fusion of sociology, cognitive psychology, and evolutionary biology holds a great deal of promise for understanding social movements and shifts in scientific thought.

In summary, despite its flaws, *Satanic Panic* is an important book. Those whose interest is purely in human sexuality issues should be warned that this material is slender. Those whose standards for reading are dependent on scientific rigor should be forewarned that the book is a social science free-for-all. I recommend reading it anyway.

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Intimate Betrayal: Understanding and Responding to the Trauma of Acquaintance Rape. By Vernon R. Wiehe and Ann L. Richards. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA, 1995, 214 pp., \$45.00 (hardback), \$19.95 (paperback).

Reviewed by Margaret S. Stockdale, Ph.D.⁴

Rape is an unspeakable crime no matter what its circumstances. Add to the fear and devastation of being violated and harmed in the most personal way, being raped by an acquaintance, friend, date, boyfriend, or spouse also means betrayal, confusion, disbelief, and guilt for the survivor. Acquaintance rape, therefore, should well be considered an equally if not more serious form of rape, requiring not only further research attention, but also specialized treatment and preventative interventions. Wiehe and Richards respond to this call by providing a comprehensive yet compact examination of this misunderstood atrocity.

Intimate Betrayal was designed for readers who are likely to have direct involvement with either survivors of acquaintance rape (e.g., clergy, counsellors, criminal justice system personnel) or have responsibility for training and preventative efforts (e.g., personnel directors, student affairs personnel, teachers). The authors' stated purpose is "to inform and to educate about the nature, scope and impact of acquaintance rape on its victims, how to intervene with those who have experienced the problem, and ways acquaintance rape can be prevented" (p. xi). In so doing, they provide an overview of the nature, scope, and theories of acquaintance rape, characteristics of the victim, perpetrator, the assault itself and its impact, and survivors' responses. Two chapters written by outside authors provide specialized treatment of marital rape (Peacock) and the legal issues that have an impact on acquaintance rape litigation (Paquin). Finally, the authors review the factors affecting both the counsellor and the survivor for effective healing and recovery, and they review resources that can be used for preventative interventions at the individual, group, and societal level.

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A valuable feature of this book is the narrative voices of 278 survivors of acquaintance rape surveyed by the authors at rape crisis centers across the United States. Appropriately cautioned by the authors not to draw population inferences from this data, these voices punctuate the authors' description of the nature of acquaintance rape gleaned from the research literature, its victims, perpetrators, and situational facilitators provided in the book's first five chapters. In the best practice of qualitative research, these survey data provide "thick descriptive information" (Patton, 1990) by offering a poignant and somber reminder of the human tragedy behind the statistics and theories of acquaintance rape.

The two externally authored chapters on marital rape and legal issues, although lengthier than other chapters, provide a thorough review of their respective domains (there is, however, some redundancy in the legal issues' chapter on marital rape). Interestingly, the authors had not planned to cover marital rape in the book, but a significant proportion of the survey respondents described incidents of marital rape, calling for a chapter devoted particularly to this problem. Not only is marital rape often more violent than other forms of rape, but some states still do not legally recognize marital rape, or they find ways of limiting the circumstances in which marital rape is recognized.

Paquin's chapter on the legal aspects of acquaintance rape is an invaluable source for friends, counsellors, and advocates that may assist the survivor with a legal battle against her assailant. He reviews the complexities and battles that will inevitably come up in the legal process regarding "he said/she said" issues as well as sexually based misperception. He also walks the reader through the various stages of the legal process (e.g., filing charges with the police, undergoing a medical exam and collecting physical evidence, further investigations, arraignment of the accused, pretrial hearings, and so forth), citing research along the way that has dealt with problems and ambiguities faced at each of these stages. In addition to describing both the criminal and civil court routes that a victim may choose to seek redress, the author describes the limited but perhaps effective use of mediation as an alternative to court-based solutions. At first, I was appalled by the thought of resolving rape through mediation ("It is a crime that should be punished"), but Paquin brings up the point that victims may not want to go through the long and often painful process of a criminal or civil trial against the accused, and that a mediated settlement may offer an admission of guilt (on the part of the accused) and other benefits (e.g., restraining order, payment of medical/legal fees) that may not otherwise be forthcoming from a legal trial.

The final three chapters deal with recovery and prevention issues. Although the authors recognize various forms of treatment philosophies, they advocate a feminist approach emphasizing the equalization of power between therapist and client and the grounding of sexual violence in patriarchal systems. I was especially pleased to see considerable attention paid to the role of therapists' attitudes, beliefs, and potential prior abuse experiences that may have an impact on their ability to effectively counsel acquaintance rape survivors. The authors also pay much attention (perhaps to the point of redundancy) to client factors that have

an impact on therapeutic processes. Because acquaintance rape involves, among other things, a profound betrayal of trust, establishing trust and security in a new intimate relationship (i.e., the counsellor–client relationship) is especially trying. In addition to outlining the various issues that have an impact on the recovery process, the authors review (and provide in appendices) several resources (e.g., films, training programs, instruments) that can be used in either recovery or preventative interventions.

In summary, *Intimate Betrayal* is a well-conceived and expertly crafted guide for practitioners and laypersons who desire a good, basic understanding of acquaintance rape. Although it is not intended for a research audience directly, the authors draw on much of the best research in the field throughout the book. *Intimate Betrayal* serves not only as a good primer for the novice, but also as a useful reference guide for the seasoned professional who may want to draw on the book's useful resources for understanding and effectively dealing with this insidious crime.

REFERENCE

- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (2nd ed.), Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA.

Remembering, Repeating, and Working Through Childhood Trauma: The Psychodynamics of Recovered Memories, Multiple Personality, Ritual Abuse, Incest, Molest, and Abduction. By Lawrence E. Hedges. Jason Aronson, Northvale, NJ, 1994, 312 pp., \$50.00.

*Reviewed by Mark F. Schwartz, Sc.D.*⁵

On my desk, there are approximately 200 copies of references on traumatic experiences and memory. As a practicing psychotherapist, I have felt a clinical and ethical obligation to study the empirical literature. None of these core references are cited in this provocatively titled text, yet the author has no difficulty making dogmatic conclusions, such as “no seasoned psychoanalyst ever assumes any memory, no matter how vivid or seemingly true it must seem, is a historical fact” (p. 17). It is “sheer folly to attribute the status of historical or legal fact” from information gained in psychotherapy. According to Hedges, this folly is made by therapists lacking “skill, systematic training and seasoning” in response to the “blackmail quality of demanding patients” who “molest” unsuspecting therapists to “violate their personal and professional boundaries” by coercing them into believing their stories.

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Such dogmatic assertions fascinate me because they are based on theory, without reviewing the complex and controversial database, and yet purport to definitively guide therapists, clients, and researchers in yet another round of ersatz controversy. Freud attempted to distinguish traumatic memory from developmental psychopathology and thought he could distinguish the two. It is likely that they are interwoven and that some memory is state-dependent and the result of overwhelming events, interacting with neglect, abuse, and development sequential psychopathology. From 50% to 90% of individuals with chronic posttraumatic stress disorder meet the criteria of another psychiatric illness. Therefore, it is likely that overwhelming stressors are not uncommon in psychiatric histories. Why would anyone want to discuss made-up memories with a therapist? What if what they remembered was true, and the therapist was not being “molested”? What if, worse yet, the therapist was professionally “guided” to disbelieve the client? Would that not make someone feel crazy? Yes, “analysis considers memories as representations of actual events and more as creative dreaming that represents transference and resistance themes in the analytic relationship.” That’s in Freud 101, but what if Freud’s theories have led analysts to turn a blind eye to the grim reality that there are 12.1 million adult women raped, 500,000 high school girls molested before they graduate, and 69% of American women who have experienced at least one traumatic event (Resick and Schnicke, 1993)? Such theory has resulted in large numbers of clients seeking help from caregivers who think, as one expert has stated, that “women are angry paranoids, as are their therapists who have found that men can serve as useful targets for their hostility” (Gardner, 1993).

The emerging developmental psychopathology literature is clearly documenting that attachment with caregivers within the first 2 years of life is highly predictive of subsequent social, learning, and cognitive development. No one really believes that memories are facts. They are reconstituted from age-specific perceived events sometimes rearranged by time. But America’s horrific domestic violence will be unacknowledged by yet another generation of “seasoned, well-trained” analysts.

That is the first 53 pages of the book! The author then goes on to a variety of topics—from a discussion of his style of listening to multiple personality clients, his rage at ethical and licensing boards for their “witch hunts” regarding dual relationships, and finally, identifying and working through “organizing transferences.” These subsequent chapters are clinically useful and are obviously a synthesis from a gifted clinician.

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- Gardner, R. (1993, September). Issues in child abuse accusation report in the Shadow of a Doubt. *Family Therapy Networker*.
 Resick, P., A., and Schnicke, M. K. (1993). *Cognitive Processing Therapy for Rape Victims: A Treatment Manual*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA.